

The Founding of the Queen's Hospital

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I

Honolulu in 1850 was the new capital of a Pacific kingdom that was considerably younger than its oldest inhabitant.¹ International intrigue, a boisterous whaling industry, and struggle for progress and national dignity were elements of a confused and changing picture. But behind the hurly-burly a grim trend mocked efforts to bring strength and stability to the Kingdom of Hawaii. Year by year disease and death exerted relentless pressure on the islands' population. Failing in numbers and in vigor, the Hawaiian nation seemed to be plunging toward extinction.²

By January of 1854 the islands were just fighting free of a smallpox epidemic that had taken perhaps as many as 6,000 lives.³ The epidemic had given proof of the miserable lack of facilities to care for the stricken. Makeshift pesthouses were swamped with cases. But even under normal conditions there was no such thing as hospital care for the average Hawaiian.⁴ Since 1833 there had been hospitals, some better and some worse, for various nationalities of foreign seamen; in addition, a few doctors had now and then set up private hospitals for paying patients. Nearly all of these were foreigners, too.⁵

The reign of the "good old king", Kamehameha III, came to an end with his death in December, 1854. The following month his successor, the twenty-one-year-old Prince Alexander Liholiho, took the throne. The new ruler recognized the problem of depopulation as the kingdom's most pressing difficulty. All other matters, he said, faded into insignificance by comparison.⁶

Within months after his accession, Kamehameha IV made efforts to improve the situation. His message to the legislature of 1855 urged the establishment of hospitals on the principal islands to treat sick and needy Hawaiians.⁷ In response the legislature passed "An Act to Institute Hospitals for the Sick Poor" for the double purpose of giving medical treatment and of training ". . . a certain number of intelligent Hawaiians . . . in medical science and the cure of the numerous diseases now prevalent and that are constantly on the increase. . . ."⁸ The law authorized the Minister of the Interior to set up two hospitals ". . . for the sick poor, being natives of this kingdom. . . .",

one at Honolulu and the other at Lahaina, under the supervision of the Board of Health.⁹ Five thousand dollars were appropriated for this undertaking, but they were not spent.¹⁰

Again in 1856 the king addressed the legislature on the need for hospitals.¹¹ Once more an appropriation of \$5,000 was passed, this time to support for two years a hospital in Honolulu.¹² But the weak financial position of the government made it impossible to spare the money for hospital purposes.¹³

In June, 1856, Kamehameha IV married the alii Emma Rooke Naea, foster daughter of T. C. B. Rooke, an English physician long resident in Honolulu.¹⁴ The new queen showed keen interest in the hospital project and became its enthusiastic supporter. The problem of financial backing continued to thwart action, however. Government finances were in such a precarious state that in August, 1857, Kamehameha IV was already considering voluntary subscription as the best means of securing action.¹⁵

General interest in the hospital question was quickened by a speech made on April 22, 1858, by a Dr. Charles F. Guillou. In his address, which was sponsored by the Honolulu Lyceum, he strongly pressed the need for a hospital for sick and indigent Hawaiians; furthermore, he proposed a plan for satisfying it. His scheme was very much like the one later adopted.¹⁶ Thereafter, Honolulu newspapers tried to maintain favorable public sentiment.¹⁷

Hospital bills were considered and passed by the legislature in 1858 and 1859.¹⁸ They had, however, a fatal weakness: no revenue measures accompanied them. In January, 1859, the entire matter was referred to a joint committee.¹⁹ The committee, when it met, consisted of Acting Minister of the Interior D. L. Gregg and Foreign Minister R. C. Wyllie. They concluded that if Queen Emma and other interested ladies would take charge, the hospital could be carried through.²⁰

Gregg and Wyllie then outlined a plan of operation. It was this: A dispensary should be set up at once, and the general groundwork for a hospital project laid. The ladies would be active in this phase. Then the legislature would appropriate government lands for support and add the idea of a marine hospital with a tax levied on seamen sailing under the Hawaiian flag. Patients requiring home treatment would be provided for according to circumstances until a suitable hospital could be built.²¹

It had now been some four years since Kamehameha had first brought the need for a hospital to the attention of the legislature. Lack of money had thus far prevented any real progress. The problem was finally solved by the passage of a new law approved by the king on April 20, 1859.²² This law allowed the incorporation of an association for the establishment in Honolulu of a hospital for sick and needy Hawaiians. When the corporation had raised funds amounting to \$5,000, the minister of the interior (Prince Lot Kamehameha, later Kamehameha V) could, with the king's consent, convey to it government lands (or their proceeds) of equal value. In case the lands should be granted, the Board of Health would have a proportionate voice in the management of the corporation. The law also permitted one hospital to be

set up on each of the islands of Maui, Kauai, and Hawaii under similar conditions. The hospital corporation was authorized to "... provide for sick and disabled seamen of other countries, or patients of any description who are fit subjects for hospital treatment."²³

II

Kamehameha IV regarded this law as the most important act of the 1859 legislature.²⁴ Beginning about April 28, the king busied himself with getting subscriptions to the hospital fund.²⁵ Accompanied by his secretary, who carried a memorandum book in which to record pledges, Kamehameha visited business houses, professional offices, diplomatic representatives, and private citizens.²⁶ He was on hand when the secretary of the House of Representatives paid off the members early in May.²⁷ By the twenty-fifth of that month some 250 businesses, groups, and individuals had subscribed \$13,530, of which \$695 had been paid. The king and queen headed the list of subscribers with pledges of \$500 each.²⁸

On May 13 the king approved an "Act to Aid in the Establishment of Hospitals for the Benefit of Sick and Disabled Hawaiian Seamen". It provided that each passenger arriving from a foreign port should pay a tax of \$2.00 to the Collector of Customs for the support of such hospitals.²⁹ Additional revenue was expected from a tax on seamen sailing under the Hawaiian flag. The Civil Code of 1859 provided that: (1) ship owners or masters arriving from foreign ports should pay twenty-five cents a month for each seaman employed on board since the last entry at any Hawaiian port; (2) masters of coasting vessels should pay, quarterly, twenty-five cents a month for each seaman employed. The tax was withheld from wages, and funds realized were retained as a "Marine Hospital Fund" for the relief of sick and disabled Hawaiian seamen.³⁰

The Honolulu Amateur Musical Society gave a benefit concert on May 26.³¹ Two other benefits were the performances of Prof. J. H. Anderson, the "Wizard of the North", on November 9. The afternoon show went off successfully, but during it the professor made some remarks offensive to American ship captains. Because of these, the captains boycotted the evening performance; however, a total of more than \$300 was raised.³² About a year later (November 22, 1860) Queen Emma sponsored a fair that netted over \$1,600 for the hospital but bankrupted the descriptive powers of its chronicler.³³ Other sources of aid will be noted in the final section dealing with hospital finances.

III

The choice of a name for the new institution occupied Kamehameha IV and his cabinet on May 24, 1859. They selected "The Queen's Hospital" as most appropriate.³⁴

The following morning a general meeting of the hospital subscribers convened at the court house.³⁵ Kamehameha was named president by acclamation.

Gregg then explained the king's views concerning the hospital and moved that the subscribers associate themselves as a "body politic and corporate" for the purpose of carrying into effect the object of their subscriptions. This done, the association took "The Queen's Hospital" as its corporate name.³⁶ The king and queen received thanks for their interest and were designated Royal Patrons of the hospital.

The corporation then proceeded to the selection of trustees. It was agreed that there should be twenty-one of these: the king, ten subscribers chosen by the subscribers themselves, and ten subscribers nominated by the minister of the interior.³⁷ During the naming process some hot words flew concerning various government appointees. Even the king lost his temper and administered sharp rebukes.³⁸ But by one in the afternoon the meeting adjourned in a general spirit of satisfaction.

The next task was to frame a charter, secure its approval, and receive incorporation. On May 28 Kamehameha asked D. L. Gregg to give him a memorandum for a hospital charter, and Gregg promised to furnish it the next day.³⁹ A week later (June 4) the trustees organized during an evening meeting; they read, considered, and amended the draft of a charter which the king, at the close of the meeting, referred to a committee of five for study and report.⁴⁰ This committee sat on June 6; a good deal of argument occurred, and the king snubbed a particularly captious trustee.⁴¹ The following evening, however, the trustees were able to agree on a charter without further bickering.⁴²

Pursuant to public notice, the subscribers met again at the court house on June 9.⁴³ Kamehameha IV presided. The meeting's purpose was to consider the charter approved by the trustees on June 7. It was accepted with only one minor amendment, although Trustee Bates acted up again.⁴⁴

J. W. Austin, the trustees' secretary pro tem, then requested that the government grant the charter to the trustees.⁴⁵ On June 16 the privy council authorized the minister of the interior to do so, on the basis of the draft submitted and read.⁴⁶

Since Gregg had proposed the charter to the privy council, little delay was to be expected; four days after the authorization, he signed the charter as acting minister.⁴⁷

These are the main provisions of the charter, classified:⁴⁸

Name of the Corporation: The Queen's Hospital.

Powers of the Corporation: To purchase, acquire, and hold real and personal estate. To sue and be sued. To have perpetual succession and a common seal.

Powers and Duties of the Trustees: To make by-laws and abrogate or change them. To make and enter into all contracts and carry on all business. To set up a temporary dispensary at Honolulu until a permanent hospital should be built. To purchase a site and build and furnish a permanent hospital. To appoint all needed sub-committees. To appoint a treasurer, secretary, auditor, medical attendant or attendants, and all other required officers and servants. To remove all appointed personnel for good cause shown. To set bond for the treasurer. To assume general management responsibility. To report to the

general biennial meeting of the corporation. To report semi-annually to the minister of the interior. To appoint a presiding officer in the absence of the king and his vice-presidents.

Purpose of the Hospital: “. . . for the reception, accommodation and treatment of indigent sick and disabled Hawaiians, as well as such foreigners and others who may choose to avail themselves of the same. . . .” The trustees were authorized to contract to receive sick and invalid seamen of other nations, or patients of any description who were fit subjects for medical or surgical treatment.

Terms of Members of the Board of Trustees: The board was arranged into two classes of ten each, each class being composed equally of members elected by subscribers and members nominated by the minister of the interior. Terms of the first class were to be two years, while terms of the second class would be four.

Membership in the Corporation: Subscribers who contributed between ten and fifty dollars per year for two consecutive years prior to a general meeting were to be classed as annual members and were to enjoy voting privileges. Life memberships went to those contributing fifty dollars or more in any one year.

Supervision: The Chancellor of the Hawaiian Islands had general powers of supervision without appeal. He could enforce uses and trusts of the corporation by summary process in case of mismanagement or misconduct.

Surplus Funds: If the corporation should find itself with surplus money or property, this should be used to provide other hospitals or dispensaries on some or one of the Hawaiian Islands, for the same objects as The Queen's Hospital, and for no other.

Amendment of the Charter: The charter could be amended by the minister of the interior with the approval of the king, on request of a majority of the subscribers present at a general or special meeting.

The board of trustees approved a set of by-laws. They contained the following provisions:⁴⁹

Voting: Each board member should have one vote.

Officers of the Board of Trustees: Officers authorized were secretary, treasurer, auditor, and an executive committee of five. All were to be chosen yearly by ballot by a majority of votes cast.

Duties of the Executive Committee: To carry into effect all orders and resolutions of the board of trustees not assigned to some committee or officer. To certify accounts. To report to the board every six months.

Selection of Employees: The physician or physicians were to be appointed by the board of trustees by ballot by a majority of all votes cast, and should receive fixed salaries as determined by the board. The purveyor and other employees could be engaged in any manner.

Contracts: No contracts, excepting those for real estate, could be made for more than four years.

Amendments to the By-Laws: These could be made by a two-thirds vote of board members present at any regular meeting.

Meetings of the Board of Trustees: These were to be held monthly. Special meetings could be called by the secretary on the written request of any three trustees.

IV

On June 29, 1859, the trustees formally accepted the charter and proceeded to draw terms of office.⁵⁰ As provided, five subscribers' and five government trustees drew four-year terms, while a like number of each drew two years. This is the list:

Four-year government trustees: Prince Lot Kamehameha, D. L. Gregg, G. M. Robertson (the chief justice), H. J. H. Holdsworth, T. C. Heuck.

Four-year subscribers' trustees: S. N. Castle, E. O. Hall, W. A. Aldrich, W. L. Green, H. Hackfeld.

Two-year government trustees: W. Webster, J. Ladd, J. Bissett, A. B. Bates, J. Montgomery.

Two-year subscribers' trustees: B. F. Snow, S. C. Damon, J. T. Waterhouse, C. R. Bishop, J. W. Austin.

John Ladd died in October, 1859, and was succeeded by the Rev. R. Armstrong in May, 1860.⁵¹ In the latter month B. F. Snow resigned and was replaced by C. Brewer.⁵² J. Bissett resigned prior to September 25, 1860. On October 4 of that year A. P. Everett replaced him; the same day F. Stapenhorst succeeded Armstrong, who had died.⁵³

In June, 1861, the terms of the two-year trustees ended. They were followed by trustees chosen for four years. These were S. C. Damon, C. R. Bishop, J. W. Austin, S. Savidge, H. Von Holt, W. Webster, C. C. Harris, R. G. Davis, F. Stapenhorst, and J. Montgomery.⁵⁴

This listing shows that during its early years The Queen's Hospital was served by men of ability and prominence. The board of trustees represented a cross-section of the solid elements in Honolulu's foreign community of the time.

On June 30, 1859, the trustees chose their first officers. The king was named perpetual president. To aid him the board elected J. W. Austin secretary, C. R. Bishop treasurer, and W. L. Green auditor.⁵⁵ All were reelected in 1860 and 1861.⁵⁶

Other affairs taken up during the period June 29-July 1 included:

1. By-laws. These were prepared by a committee, discussed, and passed as a whole on June 30.⁵⁷
2. Choice of a hospital physician. A subscribers' petition supporting Dr. W. Hillebrand, and a letter from this gentleman were received.⁵⁸
3. Rules and regulations. A committee was appointed to draft a code to govern the internal direction and control of the hospital.⁵⁹

4. Collection of subscriptions. The secretary, Austin, was directed to issue public notice to subscribers to pay their subscriptions to the Bank of Bishop, credit of the hospital corporation. In addition, a committee was appointed to make collections.⁶⁰

5. Location of a temporary dispensary. A committee appointed for that purpose reported that a building could be got from Mr. T. Thrum for sixty dollars a month. The committee was authorized to hire the building for not more than six months, with the privilege of extending the lease, if necessary. The arrangement was made, effective July 15, 1859.⁶¹

6. Selection of an executive committee, composed of Judge Robertson, Webster, Castle, Ladd, and Austin. T. C. Heuck replaced Ladd at the latter's death, and the group as thus constituted was reappointed in 1860.⁶²

7. Choice of a hospital seal. On July 1 a plain wafer was adopted temporarily, and a committee of three set up to confer with Queen Emma regarding a permanent seal.⁶³ The committee did not report until June 21, 1860. It then recommended a seal bearing a profile of the queen, and the recommendation was adopted.⁶⁴

8. Decision to admit female patients to the hospital. This important step opened the way to the treatment of prostitutes, who became the source of both business and controversy.⁶⁵

V

While the trustees were settling details of organization, they were also busy with plans for the temporary dispensary. One of their important concerns was selecting a physician. From the start there was considerable interest in the hospital job among Honolulu doctors. By June 7, 1859, electioneering was in full progress.⁶⁶ At first a Dr. Robert McKibben, Jr., seemed to have the best chance of appointment.⁶⁷ Soon, however, a powerful movement in favor of a German, Dr. William Hillebrand, appeared.⁶⁸ Various hospital subscribers bombarded the board of trustees with petitions. Drs. McKibben, Hillebrand, and Guillou sent in letters asking for the post.⁶⁹ The board showed a disposition to taboo McKibben, the king's choice, as Hillebrand's campaign gathered force.⁷⁰ Kamehameha was advised by Gregg to save face by either carrying McKibben's election or getting an agreement that the latter would not be a candidate.⁷¹

McKibben did not withdraw, and the contest went on. On July 20 the trustees set the physician's salary at \$1,500 per year and invited applicants to read the by-laws at J. W. Austin's office.⁷²

Some newspaper comment urged the trustees to get a "cheap" physician, by paying so much for each case or by giving the doctor an hourly fee for attendance.⁷³ But the trustees stuck to their \$1,500 offer in order to get the best of medical attention for hospital patients.

By the twenty-third of July McKibben's case was beginning to look desperate.⁷⁴ Three days later the trustees finally chose the physician. On an informal ballot the vote was ten for Hillebrand and nine for the McKibbens,

father and son (both were physicians). The king then suggested the vote should be unanimous, and a formal ballot followed. This time Hillebrand won sixteen of the eighteen votes cast.⁷⁵ When the result of the election was announced, it gave much satisfaction to most of Honolulu's foreign population.⁷⁶

The duties of the hospital physician were set forth by the trustees in "Rules and Regulations for a Temporary Hospital and Dispensary".⁷⁷ In this document, the physician was instructed to:

1. Fit up one room as a surgery and dispensary.
2. Select and arrange a proper supply of medicines.
3. Attend the dispensary every day for not less than one and a half hours and not more than three hours, at a time fixed and published by the executive committee.⁷⁸
4. Prescribe suitable medicines.
5. Examine all patients asking for admission to the hospital. In non-emergency cases the doctor should report to the next meeting of the executive committee whether the patient required hospital care.
6. Admit patients to the hospital without certificate of admission in cases of emergency. In such cases the doctor should report to the next meeting of the executive committee, which should have the power to decide whether hospital care should be continued.
7. Admit patients given admission certificates by the chairman of the executive committee, and treat or attend them by day or night as necessary.
8. Supervise the hospital and see that subordinate officers did their duty.
9. Keep records of all cases cared for in both the dispensary and the hospital.
10. Make weekly reports to the executive committee on business done and any other matters requiring action.
11. Render accounts to the executive committee at the first meeting of each month.
12. Make rules and regulations for the internal management of the hospital.

The physician was provided with a sort of administrative assistant, known as the purveyor. This arrangement lasted for ten years; it was not until 1869 that an assistant physician was appointed.

The purveyor, sometimes called the steward, was primarily a supply and accounts officer. His duties included:⁷⁹

1. With the advice of the physician, submitting to the executive committee a list of the furniture, utensils, etc. needed, together with estimates of cost.
2. General supervision of the hospital under the physician's direction.
3. Hiring, with the consent of the physician and the executive committee, such assistants as might be required.

4. Procuring and furnishing to patients the diet and clothing prescribed.
5. Making contracts, with the consent of the executive committee, for articles in constant use. No contract, however, could be for longer than six months.
6. Keeping accurate account of all expenditures and presenting these accounts to the executive committee at the first weekly meeting of each month.

VI

As we have learned, even before the charter was approved the trustees took steps to get a temporary hospital and dispensary in operation. By July 1 Mr. Thrum's "large and airy" building at the foot of King Street had been arranged for, while on June 30 a committee had been appointed to draft a code of rules and regulations.⁸⁰

These regulations, approved by the trustees in July, covered hospital admission, visiting rules, and inspection of facilities, among other things.⁸¹

Admission to dispensary and hospital was by a procedure that seems odd today. Trustees were furnished with blank certificates of admission—"A" for dispensary, "B" for hospital. Following is a reproduction:

A —

I recommend living at and suffering from as a proper person to receive gratuitous dispensary relief, being unable to pay for advice and medicines.

(signed)

B —

(same, except the word "hospital" was substituted)

The trustees (later limited to the executive committee)⁸² were authorized to appoint agents in the different districts of the various islands; these agents could recommend admissions on forms A and B. Agents' recommendations had to be countersigned by a trustee, however.

All applicants for treatment were required to present certificates of admission when requested by the physician to do so.

The physician could admit paying patients, with the consent of the executive committee, if there was room for them. The executive committee had the duty of fixing charges.

Friends and relatives were permitted to visit patients at hours set by the physician, but in emergency cases any clergyman could be admitted at any hour.

A visiting committee of trustees was to be appointed each quarter. This committee was allowed at least weekly access to the hospital, and was free to make such inspection as it desired.

The trustees took over Thrum's building on July 15, and the next two weeks were spent in putting up partitions and installing furniture and fixtures. Notices of the dispensary's opening, printed in the Hawaiian language, were

circulated. Hawaiians called the hospital and dispensary *Hale Ma'i o ka Wahine Ali'i* (literally, sick house of the lady chief), or *Hale Ma'i* for short.⁸³

Opening day was August 1, 1859.⁸⁴ During the first month of operation over 100 patients received treatment and advice, and an average of ten "boarding inmates" occupied the eighteen available beds.⁸⁵ The Honolulu community considered this beginning to be a very successful one. From August 1 to October 10, 1859, there were 386 native applicants.⁸⁶ On an average day about fourteen consultations were held in the dispensary (a total of 965). Twenty-five resident patients had been accepted, and fifteen dismissed (twelve being listed as cured). Two of the house patients were haoles, and a total of three patients had paid for their board and lodging. In addition to these services, free meals at the hospital had been provided for several destitute outpatients.⁸⁷

Costs were unbelievably low when measured by present standards. The whole expense for keeping the house patients and for feeding the purveyor, attendants, steward, and cook for the two months of August and September was only \$97.00

The visiting committee of trustees was well satisfied with the service being given. After inspecting the hospital in January, 1860, the committee declared that the establishment was accomplishing the benevolent designs of its founders. It noted that the number of applicants was increasing, and that Hawaiians were coming from remote parts of Oahu, and from other islands, to seek treatment. It praised the physician and the purveyor for good work. Two quotations from the committee's report reward attention. One states that the hospital had "... secured the confidence of the native population in a most remarkable manner. . . .", the other that the hospital had "... exerted a happy effect in checking the most pernicious influence and practices of native doctors. . . ."⁸⁹

At the start of 1860 Hillebrand presented a review of the first five months of business at the temporary hospital and dispensary. These are his statistics.⁹⁰

Applications at the dispensary	-	-	-	-	-	765
Average daily consultations	-	-	-	-	-	5 or 6
Prescriptions	-	-	-	-	-	2,610

Applications per day 18 or 20, with great variations. On stormy days the number might sink to six or eight, while in good weather it might rise to thirty-five or thirty-six. During December, 1859, there was a considerable increase because of the great number of people coming to the dispensary from outer islands.

House patients received 54 (four died, forty-three dismissed, four remaining).

Deaths (one each): tuberculosis, typhoid fever, "croup", "pulmonary apoplexy"

Cured house patients	-	-	-	-	-	39
Incurable house patients	-	-	-	-	-	2
Runaways	-	-	-	-	-	2

Several severely ill patients who could not be received at the overcrowded hospital had been visited at their homes.

Business at the dispensary fell off during February and March, 1860, because of bad weather, the resulting poor condition of the roads, and the extraordinarily good state of health. With the first appearance of improved weather, however, the dispensary began to fill again.⁹¹

Here closes the record of the King Street operation. The trustees had selected a site for a permanent hospital, and on March 10, 1860, the hospital moved to the temporary establishment on the newly acquired Punchbowl premises.⁹²

We shall follow Dr. Hillebrand to his new place of business after noting the activities of the board of trustees during the period from the last of June, 1859, to the early days of February, 1860.

VII

Although the medical doings seemed to be going quite well at the dispensary, the trustees had to maintain the hospital corporation as a going concern. This involved the usual administrative functions of decision and policy-making.

We have seen that by the end of June, 1859, it had become clear that some subscribers would require special attention if their pledges were to be paid. The efforts made at that time, and described above, were not entirely successful, for on January 5, 1860, the executive committee was authorized to hire a collector of unpaid subscriptions, if desirable. The sum of these then amounted to \$4,850.00.⁹³

We have also noted the important policy statement made by the trustees on July 1, 1859, when they resolved to admit women to the hospital.

Likewise, earlier mention has been made of a tax placed on seamen sailing under the Hawaiian flag, the proceeds of which tax were to be used for the care of those falling sick. On September 26, 1859, the executive committee was authorized to contract with the Minister of the Interior for the care and support of these men, providing the Minister of the Interior would donate to the trustees the avails of the passengers' and seamen's taxes.⁹⁴ On October 20 the committee reported that the Minister of the Interior was ready to turn over the tax proceeds if the trustees would make a contract. Thereupon the executive committee was empowered to make such a contract for a period of six months.⁹⁵ The contract was finally approved on January 2, 1860. It stipulated that the Minister of the Interior would pay quarterly to the trustees all amounts received and that the hospital would care for all sick and disabled Hawaiian seamen who might arrive in any port. The hospital would be responsible for paying the cost of their transportation from any other port to Honolulu.⁹⁶

Other financial affairs occupied the board. The legislature had donated \$2,000 for a hospital, and the executive committee was directed to draw this amount.⁹⁷ On October 10 the Minister of Finance agreed to grant it to the trustees.⁹⁸

By the end of September the hospital corporation had a balance of \$7,336.57.⁹⁹ The trustees then permitted the treasurer to loan \$6,000 on ninety days' call on such security as the executive committee might approve.¹⁰⁰ In October the amount was raised to \$7,000, and the call period to six months.¹⁰¹ A financial report of January 5, 1860, showed that \$6,000 had been loaned to Janion, Green and Company.¹⁰²

In their efforts to stimulate cash business for the hospital the trustees turned to the various foreign consuls. On February 2 a committee was appointed to confer with them regarding arrangements for the reception of seamen of their several governments.¹⁰³

VIII

While all these things were going on, the trustees were seeking a permanent location for the hospital. The actual selection took about six months; fortunately, the telling can be accomplished in a shorter time.

Soon after its organization the board appointed a committee on sites.¹⁰⁴ As the committee deliberated, the public speculated on the outcome and made its own recommendations. The first plan seems to have been to locate the hospital near the new prison (adjoining the old city and county jail on Iwilei Road). Another early proposed site was on Palama Road, near a soap works then in operation. These ideas were soon discarded, apparently because there was decided opinion that the strong winds from Nu'uaniu Valley would prove injurious to hospital patients.¹⁰⁵

At the beginning of August, 1859, the *Advertiser* was campaigning for a location under the lee of Punchbowl and on Beretania "road", just above or near Mr. Jarrett's house. This site was suggested as being "conspicuous".¹⁰⁶ That was most certainly true. In 1859 there was *nothing* above what is now Beretania Street—no buildings, fences, trees, or respectable undergrowth, even. The chief drawback was the lack of water. It was not sure that the new Honolulu waterworks would be able to supply that part of town; there was hope, however, that if it would not, water could be piped from Pauoa Valley around the base of Punchbowl.¹⁰⁷

In late September the committee on sites was given the additional responsibility of reporting plans and specifications for a hospital building; at the same time the committee was enlarged by adding three members.¹⁰⁸

On October 10 a fourth possible location came into the picture when the trustees instructed the committee on sites to discover whether certain premises at the "head" of Emma Street (now the corner of Emma and School Streets) could be got.¹⁰⁹ These "premises" consisted of about one and a half acres.¹¹⁰

Meanwhile, building plans were beginning to crystallize. T. C. Heuck (the practical architect) was seated on the sites committee, which was directed to limit to \$10,000 the amount to be spent on a hospital structure.¹¹¹

The committee on sites reported on October 20, but was given the further task of finding out (1) on what terms water could be brought to Beretania road, and (2) on what terms the Emma-School site could be bought.¹¹²

Some two and a half months later (on January 5, 1860) the committee informed the trustees that the cost would be \$700.¹¹³ Thereupon the board agreed to meet on January 11 at the Beretania road property of a Mr. Kapa'akea in order to look over the ground.¹¹⁴ This inspection brought favorable results. On January 16 the committee on sites recommended the purchase of Kapa'akea's property for \$2,000, and the report was accepted. The parcel of land contained about nine acres, and on it stood a two-story frame building. The trustees then directed the executive committee to buy the land, get specifications for a hospital building, and report on what use should be made of the structure already standing.¹¹⁵

The new hospital tract was barren and dusty, but the building on it made a move from the King Street dispensary possible. The executive committee got to work on the matter of deciding the exact placement of the permanent building, and on making the necessary arrangements for setting up another temporary hospital in the frame edifice at Beretania and Punchbowl.

Preparations consumed some five weeks. But on March 10, 1860, The Queen's Hospital moved to its "new" quarters.¹¹⁶ This date marks the hospital's first occupation of its present site. Kapa'akea's building served as the hospital for about nine months. It was roomier than the temporary dispensary on King Street, and was less cut up into small apartments; consequently, ventilation was better.¹¹⁷ Another advantage claimed was one that would hardly occur to present-day Honolulu residents. Newspaper comment of 1860 declared that the climate on Beretania was greatly superior to that prevailing some six or eight blocks away.¹¹⁸ There was accommodation for twenty-four patients, a few more than at the King Street site, but the growing demands upon the hospital's facilities outstripped this modest increase and limited the usefulness of the institution during much of the year 1860.¹¹⁹

This is proved by a report of Dr. Hillebrand to the trustees on June 21, more than three months after the move to Beretania. His records showed that 1,354 patients had applied at the dispensary since August 1, 1859—835 males and 519 females. During this period there had been some 4,000 consultations and a like number of prescriptions, and a total of thirteen deaths at the hospital. Since the middle of April the hospital had been filled to capacity, and for some time even the dining room and the dispensary were used to bed down the sick. At the time of the report twenty-one house patients were being cared for.¹²⁰

IX

By the time a permanent site for The Queen's Hospital was chosen, preliminary planning for the building that was to be raised on that site had been going on for several months. Only three days after the temporary dispensary opened on King Street, the *Advertiser* offered its suggestions.¹²¹ Its proposal was that there should be a moderate-sized central building, capable of expansion, with rows of thatched huts in the rear. These huts were advised with reference to the customs of the Hawaiians, nine out of ten of whom, it was claimed, would prefer to be on a mat in a grass hut, attended by *makamaka*

(watchers, or family members and retainers serving as companions and nurses).¹²² This plan was not followed, but it is interesting to note that some other South Seas communities did adopt such an arrangement and are still using it.

The trustees had been contemplating a building which would cost not more than \$10,000. Early in January T. C. Heuck estimated the outlay for materials and paint at \$5,450.¹²³

About a month later (February 2, 1860) the executive committee reported on plans and specifications, and its report was accepted, including Heuck's principal recommendations. The executive committee received instructions to get bids for a hospital eighty-two by forty feet, with estimates covering each additional ten feet of length up to 120 feet. It was also directed to locate the site of the proposed hospital on the tract, and to make arrangements for using as a temporary hospital the building already on the property.¹²⁴

By February 10 the committee was able to show plans, specifications, and estimates as ordered; these were accepted. The next item of business was deciding on the new hospital's size. The first vote, by ten to five, was for a structure 120 by 42 feet, estimated to cost \$12,535. This was reconsidered, and the length chopped to 100 feet. Then it was stretched by ten feet, to 110; accordingly, the executive committee got orders to plan for a 110-foot building and to advertise for bids.¹²⁵

This arrangement lasted four days. On February 14 the trustees were at work reconsidering the whole matter. This time they specified a flat roof and wooden floors, and added another ten feet to the building—back to 120.¹²⁶

Bids were received and laid before the trustees on May 5. The treasurer's report showed assets of \$11,218. Measures of economy were indicated, and Heuck explained how some savings could be effected. After discussion, it was decided to cut two feet from the building's height, and on this basis the executive committee was authorized to contract for a hospital costing not more than \$14,000. Heuck was thanked for his efforts, and received assurance that his name, as architect, would be placed on the completed edifice.¹²⁷

By May 8, \$14,000 was looking like a lot of money. Off went twenty feet of length, to an even 100. The executive committee was given power to spend what was absolutely required, and to deviate from details of the specifications according to its judgment, but the total expense was not to exceed \$13,500.¹²⁸

Final construction plans were announced to the public on May 26, with the optimistic prediction that the hospital to be erected would "... turn out the finest public building, as well as the most commodious for hospital purposes, that Honolulu will have to boast of for many years to come."¹²⁹ The contract, signed on the same day, called for completion by November 1.¹³⁰

T. C. Heuck, a practical architect and a member of the board of trustees, was the designer. He received no pay for his work. At least two of Heuck's products, Iolani Barracks and the Royal Mausoleum, are still features of the Honolulu scene. C. H. Lewers, founder of Lewers and Dickson (predecessor of the present-day Lewers and Cooke), was the contractor.¹³¹ Others

participating in construction were G. Thomas, mason; C. W. Vincent, carpenter; and R. Gilliland, painter.¹³²

Thomas broke ground on Wednesday, June 13.¹³³ From that time work proceeded steadily. Eight days after the ground-breaking, the trustees ordered the executive committee to begin planning for the laying of the cornerstone.¹³⁴ The committee scheduled the ceremony for Saturday, July 14, but on that day the king was sick, and the affair was postponed until Tuesday, July 17.¹³⁵

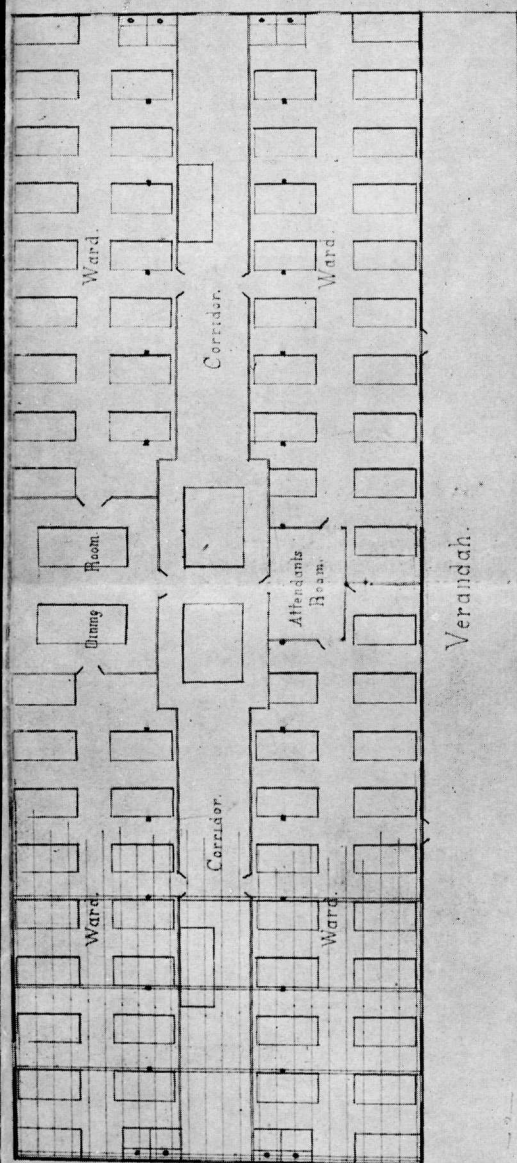
Because of the short notice of change given, many Hawaiians who would otherwise have attended were not on hand. But nearly all the foreign community, which was concentrated in Honolulu, appeared.¹³⁶ Some diplomatic representatives were absent; there had been a hassel over the relative rank of the king's ministers and various diplomatic agents. On the whole, however, the ceremony passed off happily.¹³⁷

At the hospital grounds awnings to shade the crowd had been put up. At eleven o'clock the procession formed at Kawaiahao Church and marched to the hospital in the following order:

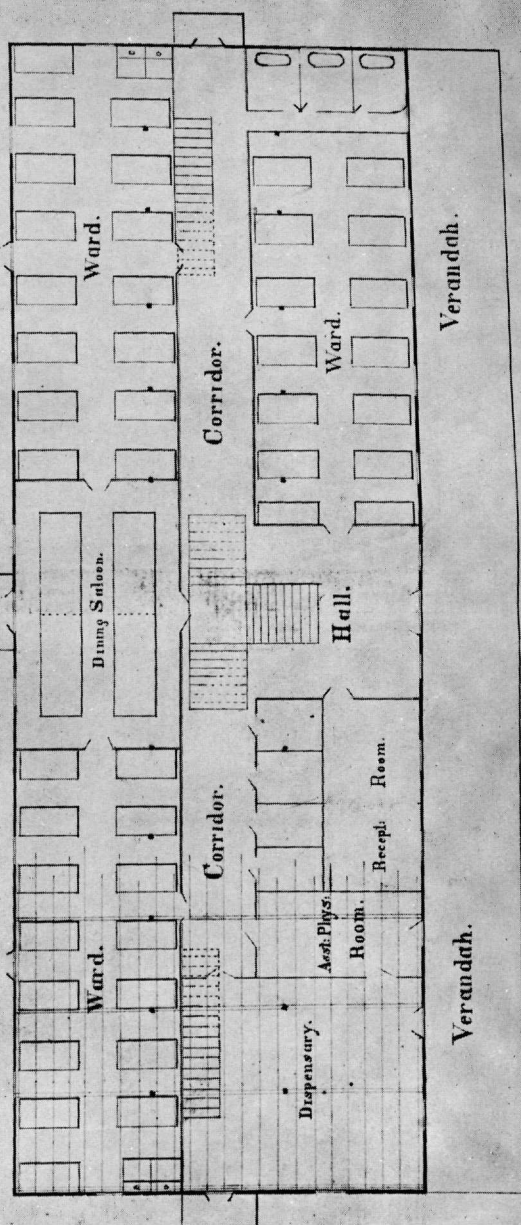
W. C. Parke, Marshal of the Kingdom
Mechanics' Benefit Union
Odd Fellows Lodge
Masonic Organizations
Trustees of the Hospital
His Majesty the King
The Chancellor of the Kingdom
Justices of the Supreme Court
Ministers and Other High Officers of the Kingdom
The Commander of the U.S.S. *Levant*, with Officers
File of U.S. Marines and Sailors
The House of Nobles
The House of Representatives
Other Officers of the Kingdom
Subscribers to the Hospital Corporation
Citizens
Military Forces of the Kingdom

The program began with a Hawaiian prayer by the Rev. Armstrong, followed by singing by the Rev. Lowell Smith's church choir. Then came Masonic ceremonies in which the building was presented to the king, and an address in Hawaiian by His Majesty. More Masonic ceremonies occurred; during them the cachet was placed in the cornerstone and the stone anointed and lowered. The king then delivered a speech in English. A benediction by the Rev. S. C. Damon concluded the morning's exercises.¹³⁸

The cornerstone itself consisted of two blocks of Waianae sandstone; the lower measured thirty-eight by twenty-four inches, and the upper twenty by



2^d Story.



Heuck's plans for The Queen's Hospital are filed in his scrapbook at the Archives of Hawaii.



thirty. The cachet placed within held ambrotype likenesses of Kamehameha IV and Queen Emma, a Hawaiian Bible, a copy of the laws of the kingdom, copies of newspapers, a list of hospital officers and trustees, a copy of the hospital charter, by-laws, rules and regulations, and a list of the subscribers.¹³⁹

Completion of the building required some four and a half months longer. The new hospital, so long awaited, opened at last for inspection on December 6, 1860. Furnishing went on for about a week after this, and the first patients were admitted as soon as the furnishing was done.¹⁴⁰

On inspection day the *Advertiser* featured a complete report on the hospital, which was hailed as one of the finest buildings in the islands. The hospital plant stood out boldly as a landmark in the Honolulu of 1860. The only other structures of any importance in the neighborhood were Kawaiahao, the old royal palace, and Washington Place. Iolani Barracks, Aliiolani Hale, and Iolani Palace were from ten to twenty years in the future.

The hospital in 1860 numbered four buildings—the new main edifice, two outhouses at its rear, and the building taken over from Kapa'akea when the Beretania site was bought. The main hospital was 100 feet long, 48 feet deep, and 35 feet high. A ten-foot veranda ran all along the front. Hewn coral "stone" formed the outside walls.

The first floor was raised by a basement about five feet above the ground. Through the center of this floor, from front to back, there was a hall, twelve by twenty-five feet. And from the central hall the main staircase, six feet wide, rose to the second floor.

On the left of the hall was the reception room, and next to it an assistant physician's room. This latter room adjoined the dispensary. In order to regulate noise, it was planned that dispensary patients would assemble on the veranda and leave the dispensary by a door in the end of the building. The first floor also accommodated three large wards, bath rooms, store rooms, and a "dining saloon".

Corridors eight feet wide ran lengthwise down the middle of the building on both floors. Two staircases, one at each end of the corridors, provided a safety feature.

Folding doors were arranged so that the wards on both floors could be partitioned off into smaller spaces, and even into private rooms. Ceilings were high—thirteen feet on the first floor and eleven on the second. For the sake of cleanliness all inner walls and partitions were plastered.

Double rows of ventilators, fitted with removable covers, ran along the walls near floors and ceilings. More fresh air was provided by a large raised skylight, surrounded by "venetians", in the center of the building.

The two outhouses at the rear sheltered a stone kitchen, store rooms, a laundry (given the old-fashioned name of "wash house"), servants' rooms, and stables. What was done with the Kapa'akea building will be seen shortly.

This early panorama taken from Punchbowl shows the new hospital on the edge of town. It documents the general aridity of the neighborhood described in the text.

In designing the hospital, Heuck seems to have enjoyed the rare experience of pleasing everybody. The following quotation is from a somewhat self-congratulatory letter he wrote to his sister the day after the open house:¹⁴¹

There is the new hospital—Heuck is the architect and I have the satisfaction to have given essential service and to have met the requests of everyone from on top to down the scale. A architect has to be very cautious that no blame hits him especially with buildings for the government. I can well say I have succeeded; in a very cordial manner one has given me recognition publicly as well as privately to have created a lasting monument to myself, an ornament to the city and a very useful property to the people.

Although the hospital building drew unanimous praise, the grounds did not. Barren and apparently sterile, they spread out in a dusty wasteland. Grass, shrubs, and trees were needed badly, but they had to wait until, well along in 1861, water was brought around from Pauoa Valley.¹⁴²

The cost of the hospital is a matter of some interest, as it allows comparison with price levels a century later. This is an itemized account:¹⁴³

Amount of the contract	—	—	—	—	\$11,400.00
Prison labor	—	—	—	—	702.65
Hauling stone	—	—	—	—	987.00
Hauling sand	—	—	—	—	18.00
Cornerstone	—	—	—	—	20.00
Force pump, pipe, and digging well	—	—	—	—	189.64
Painting	—	—	—	—	816.00
Paint, oil, lumber, etc.	—	—	—	—	353.65
Lumber and carpenter's work, extra	—	—	—	—	126.73
Mason's materials and labor	—	—	—	—	115.25
TOTAL					\$14,728.92

We see at work here the familiar but inexplicable law which decrees that estimates shall follow actual costs at a respectful distance.

X

The hospital was barely in operation when a test came. In January, 1861, a measles epidemic struck Hawaii. In earlier days the disease had been a great killer. At once to question arose: Should measles patients be admitted to the hospital? On January 21 the trustees devoted a special meeting to the subject. They heard Dr. Hillebrand report that since it would be impossible to keep the disease out of the hospital, measles sufferers should be admitted. The cost of care would be low, said the doctor, because of the "low and cheap diet" to be furnished. After considerable discussion, the board voted to receive measles patients on the recommendation of the physician, provided the Board of Health would supply funds to cover expenses that could not be met by the hospital.¹⁴⁴

Four days later Prince Lot Kamehameha brought the matter to the attention of the privy council and suggested that \$500 a month would be a suitable

grant. The council appropriated \$2,000 to treat measles cases, this amount to be expended by the Board of Health.¹⁴⁵

On March 1 hospital treasurer Bishop presented a bill of \$147.50 to Prince Lot. This covered 239 days' attendance and board at the hospital at the rate of fifty cents per day, fifty-one patients visited and prescribed for outside the hospital at fifty cents each, and \$2.50 spent to buy a coffin for one who died of measles.¹⁴⁶ In the month of March additional charges of \$72.50 were incurred by measles patients and billed to the government.¹⁴⁷ During the three-month epidemic a special ward was operated for measles cases.¹⁴⁸

XI

As noted, an early policy decision of the board of trustees opened the hospital to women and thus paved the way for the admission of prostitutes. In May, 1855, Kamehameha IV had approved. "An Act for the Suppression of Prostitution",¹⁴⁹ and in the following month "An Act Relating to the Public Health".¹⁵⁰ The purpose of the former law was to disperse the swarms of prostitutes frequenting seaports, especially during the fall shipping season, and thereby lessen disease. Police and district justices of Honolulu, Lahaina, and Hilo were authorized to order prostitutes back to their home districts on forty-eight-hour notice. Failure to leave town within the prescribed time would subject first offenders to thirty days' hard labor or solitary confinement, and repeaters to sixty days of the same.

The public health act established a board of health and stipulated its powers and duties.

Five years later the king approved "An Act to Mitigate Evils and Diseases Arising from Prostitution".¹⁵¹ These evils and diseases, said the law, were "widespread and apparent", carrying death to thousands of the Hawaiian race and preventing increase of population. It had proved impossible to crush out prostitution; therefore, the practice was to be regulated for the public benefit. These are the provisions of the law:¹⁵² (1) Every common prostitute in and around the city of Honolulu was required to register with the Sheriff of Oahu; (2) failure to register made violators subject to imprisonment for from thirty to sixty days; (3) registered prostitutes were required to attend and be examined by a physician (to be appointed by the Minister of the Interior) at least once every two weeks, at some convenient place to be made public by notice. If diseased, prostitutes would get free treatment; (4) prostitutes failing to attend, or neglecting to follow the doctor's prescription, should also be subject to the term of imprisonment specified above. Any woman not diseased could declare her intention to forsake prostitution and have her name removed from the register; (5) the Minister of the Interior would set the physician's pay; (6) the Sheriff of Oahu was made responsible for the law's execution. A resolution of the same date authorized \$4,000 for the period ending March 31, 1862, to meet costs resulting from the law.¹⁵³

The Minister of the Interior then sent a communication to the hospital trustees asking the hospital to receive prostitutes. The matter was referred to

a select committee.¹⁵⁴ On October 4 the committee reported, and the Minister of the Interior was informed that the hospital would accommodate and treat prostitutes at the rate of forty-five cents per day, beginning November 1, 1860.¹⁵⁵ The government agreed to these terms.¹⁵⁶

This put the fat into the fire. At once a group of thirty-four Honolulu ladies sent a memorial of protest to the trustees, who held a special meeting on November 14 to consider the matter, and referred the question to a committee of five.¹⁵⁷ The committee asked the ladies for a detailed statement of the reasons for their memorial.

The latter's reply said that nothing should be done to lessen the "... shame and ignominy which it is so desirable should be attached to those who have voluntarily and openly chosen the path of vice ...", and claimed that they should not be eligible to any part of the hospital operated under the patronage of the queen. Reception of prostitutes would injure the hospital's reputation and encourage prostitution. The petitioners asked that a separate hospital, located away from the respectable portion of the city, should be provided. This institution should have its own name and have, also, "... moral influences as well as physical remedies. ..."¹⁵⁸

The trustees' committee prepared a rebuttal, which was approved by the board and sent to the ladies. The board's position was this: Before the memorial had been received, an agreement had been made from which the board could not recede, even if it wanted to. For one thing, government support of the hospital gave the government a right to special consideration; again, the hospital had been created for the benefit of the nation, and not for the cure of any particular class of patients or diseases. Those who participated in the agreement "... did not forget that even the felon was entitled to sympathy and the care of a nurse, when destitute and sick ... that they should not be left to depend on a good Samaritan who might *not* pass near them to save them from physical destruction. ..."¹⁵⁹

The trustees said that the hospital had suitable and separate apartments not needed for other uses, and a physician and servants available. This referred to the Kapa'akea building on the hospital grounds, abandoned when the new main building was completed. This old structure did become a "Magdalen ward" when prostitutes were actually received.

In concluding its rejection of the ladies' petition, the board said that "... as Trustees of The Queen's Hospital, we do not feel at liberty to withhold any aid under our control in the relief of suffering and in healing of the sick, whatever may have been the cause of the misery or disease. ..."¹⁶⁰

From October 1, 1860 to June 30, 1861, 373 women were registered. By the latter date 266 remained on the list, 147 having been removed at their application. A great proportion of the 147 first registered only in order to be cured, and as soon as this was effected, returned to their homes. Of the total of 373 women on register, 220 were married.¹⁶¹

Before the law of 1860 was passed, some four out of seven hospital patients were syphilitic; afterward the proportion dwindled, as the following statistics show:¹⁶²

October–December, 1860	239 women registered, 111 diseased
January–March, 1861	249 women registered, 31 diseased
April–June, 1861	265 women registered, 27 diseased
July–September, 1861	not known
October–December, 1861	286 women registered, not reported

The attending government physician was Robert McKibben, Jr., the unsuccessful candidate for hospital physician. His summary statistics covering the period October, 1860–December, 1861, are given below:¹⁶³

Total number of women appearing for examination	512
Total number of women diseased	207
Total number of diseased women sent to hospital	25
Total number of diseased women treated at dispensary	182
Diseased women remaining in hospital on December 31	3

The table appearing on the next page summarizes the situation from August 1, 1859 to May 1, 1862, and indicates the lack of any decisive gains—a result not too surprising, considering the state of medical science a century ago, and the generally feeble resistance to the call of the flesh. In presenting this and other statistical material related to the diagnosis and cure of diseases arising from prostitution, the writer merely states the record as it was written, refraining from comment or interpretation of medical data. The latter undertaking is the province of the physician.¹⁶⁴

Enough has been said to show that diseases incidental to prostitution formed a major health hazard in the Honolulu of the 1850's and 1860's, and that The Queen's Hospital played an important role in their treatment.

XII

While the hospital carried on its work to the best of its ability, it labored always under the pressure of financial need. The trustees cast about unceasingly for sources of revenue, including cash customers.

A hope long pursued was the business to be had from ailing seamen of various foreign nationalities. Getting commitments from foreign governments or their agents proved to be, however, a long and frustrating affair. We have noted that as early as February 2, 1860, the trustees appointed a committee to confer with consuls regarding arrangements for the reception at the hospital of seamen of their respective governments.¹⁶⁵ The committee reported eight days later, but no definite action followed.¹⁶⁶

Three months passed. Then another committee was appointed to consider the manner of aiding foreign seamen; this step resulted from a communication received from Gustav Reiners, a German consul at the time.¹⁶⁷ The committee reported as had the first, but also without having made any real progress, apparently.¹⁶⁸

On June 17 the U.S.S. *Levant*, Commander W. E. Hunt, arrived in Hawaii for an extended visit. Hunt was under orders to cooperate with the U.S.

TABLE I
PHYSICIAN'S REPORT OF DIAGNOSIS OF DISEASES RELATED TO PROSTITUTION
AUGUST 1, 1859-MAY 1, 1862

<i>Date</i>	<i>Applicants</i>	<i>Syphilis</i>	<i>Gonorrhea</i>	<i>Inflammation of Bladder from Gonorrhea</i>	<i>Total</i>
Aug. 1-Nov. 1, 1859	364	34	21	29	84
Nov. 1-Feb. 1, 1860	346	32	14	15	61
Feb. 1-May 1, 1860	388	30	8	10	48
May 1-Aug. 1, 1860	317	47	7	10	64
Aug. 1-Nov. 1, 1860	328	32	14	13	59
Nov. 1-Feb. 1, 1861	375	42	11	10	63
Feb. 1-May 1, 1861	544	45	19	2	66
May 1-Aug. 1, 1861	436	35	18	6	59
Aug. 1-Nov. 1, 1861	391	27	21	1	49
Nov. 1-Feb. 1, 1862	337	21	9	4	34
Feb. 1-May 1, 1862	264	26	7	3	36

Commissioner in making an investigation of consular and hospital affairs at Honolulu, Lahaina, and Hilo.¹⁶⁹ Within a week The Queen's Hospital trustees set up a committee to confer with these men regarding admission of American seamen to the hospital.¹⁷⁰

A month after the *Levant's* coming, the trustees were still trying to get some definite commitment. In order to do so, they instructed the committee on foreign seamen to report on the exact sum per day for which the hospital could care for such patients.¹⁷¹

The committee prepared a circular setting forth rates approved by the trustees on July 21; one hundred copies were printed; these were to be sent to the representatives of foreign governments.¹⁷²

In early August the trustees met to consider if it would be advisable to offer to take American seamen for any specified time, under contract. They resolved to inform the U.S. Commissioner that the hospital would receive American seamen for a top rate of \$1.25 per day. This was equivalent to the charges made by the U.S. Naval Hospital at the time.¹⁷³

Apparently nothing firm was accomplished. Near the end of December the trustees decided to carry the matter to Washington. The board prepared a letter for the U.S. Secretary of State, asking the patronage of the government for The Queen's Hospital.¹⁷⁴

Some five months went by. Late in May, 1861, a Dr. W. Baxley came to Honolulu. He was a special U.S. Commissioner assigned to investigate and report on systems adopted in the U.S. hospitals at the various Pacific ports.¹⁷⁵ The trustees set up a committee of five to confer on the old question of taking U.S. seamen into the hospital.¹⁷⁶

The committee came away from the discussion with a list of eight requirements stipulated by Baxley. First, he demanded that all U.S. seamen under consular care should be admitted to the hospital, even though not requiring medical or surgical aid. Baxley took an adamant stand on this, and the trustees yielded, agreeing to amend the hospital charter as necessary.¹⁷⁷ They also agreed to include laundry in their estimates, conceded additional points, and referred others to the action of the executive committee.

The special committee got orders to close with Dr. Baxley on such terms as to it might appear most proper.¹⁷⁸

Negotiations for the admission of foreign seamen had now been going on intermittently for about seventeen months, but at the end of June, 1861, the hospital secretary could only write that the trustees still hoped " . . . in future to get sick and indigent seamen of other nations, who will be placed there by their governments. . . ."¹⁷⁹

The hospital had better luck in getting the business of another class of foreigners—the "consular patients". These were sick and needy foreigners who, languishing in the fell grip of adverse circumstance, were placed in the hospital by, and at the expense of, various diplomatic agents. Records show that a small amount of income was received from the care of such patients.¹⁸⁰

Meanwhile, other possibilities were explored. The board of trustees upped the pressure on delinquent subscribers. The list of these was gone through repeatedly.¹⁸¹ Early in May, 1860, the board tried a new gambit. It directed the secretary to send promissory notes to the non-payers, asking them to sign for payment to be made before or on July 1.¹⁸² The reason for such urgency was, of course, the building of the new hospital. The recalcitrants responded pretty well to the continued prodding of the trustees, but it was an unhurried response. By June 20, 1861, the treasurer was able to report that only \$870.00 of the original subscriptions remained unpaid. Several subscribers had died, some were unable to pay, others were "slow", and a few were unwilling to come through. It is to be supposed that only a small part of the \$870 was ever collected.¹⁸³

With an eye on the 1860 legislature, the trustees appointed a committee apply for a grant of funds.¹⁸⁴ The legislature cooperated with a bill in aid of the hospital corporation, permitting the transfer of \$5,000 worth of fort or other government lands (or the proceeds therefrom) to the hospital by the Minister of the Interior.¹⁸⁵ In addition, the appropriation bill of 1860 and 1861 made a cash grant in aid of \$2,000 yearly.¹⁸⁶

About the same time (July 21, 1860) the board appointed a committee to report on what weekly terms "private persons" could be received for lodging, board, and medical attendance. It was planned that such patients would have the right to choose their own physicians.¹⁸⁷

In 1852 the Stranger's Friend Society, a charitable organization, appeared in Honolulu.¹⁸⁸ This group promised to be a source of business. To attract it, the trustees agreed on January 21, 1861, that patients sent to the hospital by the society would be received for \$6.00 per week. The society was to pay for all extra expenses incurred.¹⁸⁹

Island churches were a final resort. There was some criticism that clergymen in general had been lukewarm toward the hospital.¹⁹⁰ But in December, 1861, the executive committee prepared a circular and sent it to all ministers of the gospel in Hawaii. The circular asked for a special collection for the hospital on the second Sunday in January, 1862.¹⁹¹ The results were disappointing. By early March only \$276.53 had been received. Unfortunately, the collection was scheduled just after the tax collectors had been over the field.¹⁹²

XIII

On June 20, 1861, Dr. Hillebrand submitted a summary report covering operations from the opening of the King Street dispensary on August 1, 1859.¹⁹³ His records showed the following:

Number of beds the new hospital accommodated	124
Total number of hospital house patients to date	309
Total number of dispensary patients to date	2,746
Aggregate number of patient days to date	12,907
Deaths in hospital to date	49 (6 foreigners, 43 Haw'n.)
Free prescriptions to date	8,774
Greatest number house patients at any one time	71
Number of foreign house patients received to date	37
Number of paying foreign house patients received	15
Number of wards reserved for paying patients	2
Bills for medicines and surgical instruments, aside from those received from the estate of Dr. Rooke	\$651.37
Bills for wines and spirits to date	\$149.37

Considering the population of the kingdom and the size of Honolulu, this was a fair showing.* But it would have been much better if there had been enough money to expand the staff and support more house patients. Paying guests were few in number; community support, after the original subscription, was limited; the government was unable to make very large contributions. The result was that during its early years the hospital had to keep a sharp eye on costs, and since it was primarily a charitable institution, costs were closely related to services available.¹⁹⁴

XIV

The consideration of hospital services leads, therefore, to an examination of the hospital's finances. C. R. Bishop, the treasurer, also made a summary report covering the period from August 1, 1859 to June 20, 1861. This has been combined with earlier semiannual reports to give an overall picture:¹⁹⁵

* *The population of Honolulu and environs ("Maunaloa to Coco Head"), as reported in January, 1861, totaled 14,309. This included 12,408 "native Hawaiian and half-caste", 1,616 "foreigners and their children", and 285 "Chinamen" (PCA, Jan. 10, 1861).*

Receipts for the period	\$29,426.13
From subscribers and contributors	\$12,850.02
From legislative appropriations	9,381.40
Privy council appropriations to care for measles cases	217.95
Proceeds of the Queen's Fair	1,621.75
Proceeds of the concert of the Honolulu Amateur Musical Society	218.75
Proceeds of the benefit by Prof. Anderson	309.25
Taxes on passengers and Hawaiian seamen	3,080.24
Interest on money loaned	579.28
Consular and other paying patients	1,167.49
Expenditures for the period	\$29,368.52
Rent of temporary hospital	518.00
Purchase of hospital premises	2,000.00
Buildings, repairs, and improvements	16,275.79
Provisions, medicines, bedding, furniture, etc.	5,268.37
Physician's salary	2,516.00
Wages of purveyor and servants	2,466.75
Stationery, printing, etc.	274.62
Miscellaneous	48.92
Cash on hand June 20, 1861	\$57.61

Contributions other than money had been received. These were:

Drugs, medicines, surgical instruments, apothecaries' furniture, etc., value	425.00
Drugs at cost from Dr. E. Hoffmann, value	100.00
Beef from several graziers and butchers, value	115.00
Pictures and bedding from several persons, value	45.00
Surgical instruments from Dr. W. Lee, value	15.00
TOTAL VALUE	\$700.00

After July 1, 1861, the only reliable income was the government appropriation of \$167.67 per month, taxes amounting to about \$100.00 per month, and proceeds of the act of August 24, 1860, which were about \$75.00 per month. At the time, operating expenses of the hospital were some \$500.00 per month, leaving a monthly deficit of \$158.33. Meeting this required either new sources of income or cutting of services.¹⁹⁶

The hospital struggled through the next two quarters with the help of the government, but on December 20, 1861, the cash balance had sunk to \$21.68, and the treasurer expected a deficit of about \$400.00 on January 1, 1862.¹⁹⁷

XV

These summaries of the services and finances of The Queen's Hospital during 1859-1861 bring this paper to a close. The hospital came into being at a time of crisis in the affairs of the Hawaiian kingdom. It was a weapon

forged for the battle against population decline, and it served well. The early days of the hospital were not easy days, but a century's perspective brings into focus the true worth of those who, with devotion and persistence, wrestled with and eventually overcame the many problems that attended the creation and nurture of The Queen's Hospital.

It is gratifying to know that recognition was not withheld at a time when it could encourage further efforts. On July 6, 1861, *The Polynesian* gave its judgment:

. . . since the commencement of the Hospital, about 22 months ago, not less than 3,055 patients have received treatment, of which 2,966 have gone away cured. . . . This result has so far exceeded the most sanguine expectations of those whose sympathy and liberality gave life and vitality to the Queen's Hospital, that it seems hardly possible to realize it. Yet so it is. . . . The native prejudices against foreign doctors and foreign medicine were nearly as great two years ago as they were thirty years ago, yet how wonderfully the practical operation and prudent management of the Hospital have revolutionized the native mind in this respect! Now the applicants throng to be received, and they gladly come from the remotest corners of the Kingdom to partake of the healing influences of this institution: and the consequence is public confidence and renewed hope in the preservation of their race. That Hospital has now proved itself capable of standing between the living and the dead, and of rolling the tide of extinction backward, a pride and a glory to its originators, a blessing to humanity; and deeply should it be cherished by this whole people as a long delayed, but ever welcome means for its salvation.

NOTES

¹ PCR, III B, 803. "Resolved that Honolulu is declared to be a City, and the Capital of the Hawaiian Islands." At this meeting Punchbowl and Beretania Streets were officially named and approved, among others. It was at the intersection of these two streets that The Queen's Hospital was located in 1860.

² Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1854-1874, Twenty Critical Years* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1953), 37, 149. Ralph S. Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854, Foundation and Transformation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1947), 171, 274, 328. Excess of deaths over births during the years 1851-1857 amounted to 10,644 (PCA, July 15, 1858).

³ Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1778-1854*, 412.

⁴ Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1854-1874*, 70.

⁵ Robert C. Schmitt, "Hawaii's First Hospitals," *Hawaii Medical Journal*, (July-August, 1949), 424-427. The need for hospitals had long been recognized (P, Jan. 13, 1849).

⁶ Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1854-1874*, 69.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Laws of His Majesty Kamehameha IV, King of the Hawaiian Islands, Passed by the Nobles and Representatives at Their Session, 1855* (Honolulu: 1855), 20.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1854-1874*, 69-70.

- ¹¹ *Ibid.* On January 5 of this same year the *Polynesian* printed a "Report on Labor and Population" by Dr. W. Hillebrand, later the hospital physician. In this he pointed out the great need for a hospital and suggested a number of practices which should characterize its operation.
- ¹² *Ibid.*
- ¹³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁴ P, June 21, 1856. This article gives a long account of the event.
- ¹⁵ CCM, III, 43. "The king brought up the question of relieving the appropriation for a native hospital from the restriction placed on it on the 28 July & 4 Nov. 1856 on condition that His Majesty can obtain voluntary contributions to an equal amount."
- ¹⁶ P, May 1, 1858.
- ¹⁷ P, July 10, 1858; PCA, July 15, 1858.
- ¹⁸ *The Civil Code of the Hawaiian Islands, Passed in the Year of our Lord 1859 . . .* (Honolulu: 1859), 68. Cited hereafter as *Civil Code . . . 1859*; P, Dec. 25, 1858.
- ¹⁹ David L. Gregg, Diary, Jan. 3, 1859. Archives of Hawaii.
- ²⁰ *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1859.
- ²¹ *Ibid.*
- ²² *Civil Code . . . 1859*, 433-435. The title was, "An Act to Provide Hospitals for the Relief of Hawaiians in the City of Honolulu and Other Localities."
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 435.
- ²⁴ P, April 30, 1859.
- ²⁵ PCA, May 5, 1859; D. L. Gregg, Diary, April 28 and 29 and May 3, 1859.
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*
- ²⁷ D. L. Gregg, Diary, May 5, 1859.
- ²⁸ P, May 14, 1859.
- ²⁹ *Civil Code . . . 1859*, 439-40.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, 39-40.
- ³¹ D. L. Gregg, Diary, May 26, 1859; PCA, June 2, 1859.
- ³² D. L. Gregg, Diary, Nov. 9, 1859; P, Nov. 12, 1859.
- ³³ P, Nov. 24, 1860.
- ³⁴ CCM, III, 137.
- ³⁵ D. L. Gregg, Diary, May 25, 1859, P, May 28, 1859.
- ³⁶ P, May 28, 1859.
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*
- ³⁸ D. L. Gregg, Diary, May 25, 1859.
- ³⁹ *Ibid.*, May 28, 1859. David L. Gregg arrived in Hawaii at the end of 1853 to replace Luther Severance as U.S. Commissioner (PCR, VIII, 69; F, III, No. 1 (Jan. 2, 1854), 1). On June 6, 1857, Kamehameha IV invited Gregg to accept the Ministry of Finance, but Gregg declined (D. L. Gregg, Diary, June 6 and 8, 1857). At the end of December, however, he gave official notice that he would accept the post on being superseded as U.S. Commissioner, and requested letters patent of denization (granted) in order to qualify (*Ibid.*, Dec. 28, 1857; PCR, X, 230). Gregg's commission as Minister of Finance was issued May 26, 1858; he entered on his duties early in July, and served for just over four years (D. L. Gregg, Diary, May 27, 1858; PCR, X, 232. He was a Roman Catholic, anti-missionary, and both a close friend and intimate adviser of Kamehameha IV (Kuykendall, *The Hawaiian Kingdom, 1854-1874*, 36, 65). An enthusiastic critic of the House of Representatives, the abolition of

- which he warmly urged, Gregg not unnaturally experienced hostility from legislative quarters (*Ibid.*, 119, 120). At the end of July, 1862, the House of Representatives passed a resolution expressing loss of confidence in Gregg and requesting an end to his control of public finances (Messages from the House of Representatives to the House of Nobles (July 29, 1862)). This action received strong press support, and Gregg resigned, effective August 18 (PCA, Aug. 14 and 21, 1862). He took formal leave of the king and council early in Nov., and subsequently returned to the United States, where he became a land agent at Carson City, Nevada. He died there Dec. 23, 1868 (PCR, XI, 97; PCA, Jan. 23, 1869).
- ⁴⁰ D. L. Gregg, Diary, June 4, 1859; Record of Trustees' Meetings, 1859-1907, Queen's Hospital, 20. Cited hereafter as Trustees. This volume of minutes is deposited at the Hawaiian Trust Company.
- ⁴¹ D. L. Gregg, Diary, June 6, 1859. The recalcitrant one was Asher B. Bates, a "government" trustee.
- ⁴² *Ibid.*, June 7, 1859.
- ⁴³ Minutes of J. W. Austin, Secretary Pro-Tem, June 9, 1859, in file, "Queen's Hospital Reports, Charter and By-Laws, Bulletins, 100th Anniversary of Queen Emma," Archives of Hawaii.
- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.* The amendment removed the clause allowing absent subscribers to vote by proxy, and provided that the matter should be controlled by the by-laws. A copy of the charter as accepted by the subscribers is in Miscellaneous Interior File, "Queen's Hospital, 1859-1878," Archives of Hawaii. Cited hereafter as MIQH, D. L. Gregg, Diary, June 9, 1859.
- ⁴⁵ J. W. Austin to D. L. Gregg, June 13, 1859. MIQH. At this time Gregg was Acting Minister of the Interior during temporary absence of Prince Lot Kamehameha.
- ⁴⁶ PCR, XI, 37.
- ⁴⁷ D. L. Gregg, Diary, June 16 and 20, 1859.
- ⁴⁸ *Charter and By-Laws of The Queen's Hospital, Honolulu, H.I.* (Honolulu: Commercial Advertiser Print., 1859). The trustees authorized the printing of 300 copies on October 20, 1859 (Trustees, 40).
- ⁴⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁰ Trustees, 24-25. D. L. Gregg, Diary, June 29, 1859.
- ⁵¹ Trustees, 42, 58.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, 58, 60.
- ⁵³ F. Stapenhorst to D. L. Gregg, Oct. 12, 1860; J. W. Austin to D. L. Gregg, Sept. 29, 1860. MIQH. Trustees, 70, 72. S. Spencer to J. W. Austin, Oct. 4, 1860. IDLB No. 7, 290.
- ⁵⁴ J. W. Austin to Minister of Interior, June 22, 1861. MIQH. Lot Kamehameha to Austin, June 22, 1861. IDLB No. 7, 347; P, June 29, 1861.
- ⁵⁵ Trustees, 26-27.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 62, 82. C. R. Bishop was one of Hawaii's most prominent men for the half century preceding 1894, when he left for California. See Ralph S. Kuykendall, "Charles Reed Bishop," *Dictionary of American Biography*, ed. H. E. Starr, XXI (1944), 82. James W. Austin, a lawyer, arrived in Hawaii from the California gold-fields in August, 1851 (HSB, Jan. 24, 1939, 9). He settled on Maui, where he was the government's license agent from early 1852 to the spring of 1856 (A. G. Thurston to J. W. Austin, April 5 and 10, 1852. IDLB No. 4, 90, 92. S. Spencer to E. P. Bond, IDLB 6, 377). In April, 1854, he became district attorney for the second judicial circuit, Maui (File, Names of Office Holders, Archives of Hawaii). In 1855, 1858, and part of 1859 Austin sat in the House of Representatives, serving as speaker during

the last-mentioned year. (*Ibid.*) On July 10, 1868, he was appointed second associate justice of the Supreme Court, a position which he occupied for a year. He then resigned in order to visit Europe (*Ibid.*, *The Hawaiian Kingdom Statistical and Commercial Directory and Tourist Guide, 1880-1881* . . . (Honolulu and San Francisco: George Bowser and Company, 1880), 578). William L. Green was a leading businessman and government official who, like Austin, came to Honolulu from gold-rush California. His official positions included: Acting British Commissioner and Consul General, member of the Privy Council; Minister of Foreign Affairs, Minister of the Interior, President of the Board of Health, Commissioner of the Resources of the Kingdom, and member of the Board of Immigration. As a businessman he took part in establishing the Honolulu Iron Works, and was for a time president of the Honolulu Chamber of Commerce. Green died in Honolulu December 7, 1890 (G. F. Nellist, ed., *The Story of Hawaii and Its Builders* . . ., (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1925), 107-109; PCA, Dec. 8, 1890, 2).

⁵⁷ D. L. Gregg, Diary, June 29 and 30, 1859. Trustees, 24-27.

⁵⁸ Trustees, 26.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 26-27.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 22-23, 27-28. Committees to select a site and to report a plan for the temporary hospital were named June 7.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 28-29, 43. P, June 23, 1860.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁶⁶ D. L. Gregg, Diary, June 7, 1859.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, June 28, 1859.

⁶⁹ Trustees, 36.

⁷⁰ D. L. Gregg, Diary, July 1, 1859.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, July 2, 1859.

⁷² Trustees, 34.

⁷³ P, July 23, 1859.

⁷⁴ D. L. Gregg, Diary, July 20, 23, and 25, 1859.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, July 26, 1859; Trustees, 36.

⁷⁶ D. L. Gregg, Diary, July 27, 1859. William F. Hillebrand, one of six children of Judge Franz Josef Hillebrand and Louise Pauline (Konig) Hillebrand, was born in Nieheim, Westphalia, on November 13, 1821 (Willis T. Pope, "Dr. William Hillebrand, M.D., 1821-1886," HAA, 1919, 57-58).

William was educated in the Nieheim schools, and later studied at the universities at Gottingen, Heidelberg, and Berlin, receiving his M.D. at the latter (*Ibid.*). A careful scientific thinker, he was also something of a linguist; he eventually mastered German, English, French, Latin, and Hawaiian. Hillebrand's skill with words was reflected in his reputation as a conversationalist; interestingly, however, he failed to win distinction as a lecturer (*Ibid.*).

At the conclusion of his education he practiced in Paderborn, near his birthplace, and for a few years he also practiced in Heidelberg, but ill health—an "affection of the lungs"—forced him to quit. Traveling to Australia and the Philippines, he regained some measure of health, and commenced practice in Manila. Again, though, worsening health compelled him to move on; this time he journeyed to San Francisco,

where he gained strength (*Ibid.*; W. Hillebrand, M.D., *Flora of the Hawaiian Islands* . . . (New York: B. Westermann and Co., 1888), xi, xii). Still in search of health, and acting on advice, Hillebrand left for the Hawaiian Islands late in 1850, arriving in Honolulu Dec. 22 (Ray Jerome Baker, *Honolulu in 1853* (Honolulu: R. J. Baker, 1950), 61).

He first lived with Dr. Wesley Newcomb, and later joined him in professional practice. On Nov. 16, 1852, he married Newcomb's step-daughter, Anna Post. Soon after their marriage the couple moved to a new home in Nuuanu Valley (*Ibid.*). It was a latticed cottage standing back from the valley road, and reached by a driveway. The grounds, located on the site of the present Foster Gardens, were beautified with rare plants collected by Hillebrand (Warren Goodale, "Honolulu in 1853," HAA, 1899, 103).

The doctor assumed Hawaiian citizenship and practiced medicine with success. He took a prominent part in the battle against the smallpox epidemic which ravaged Honolulu in the summer of 1853 (R. A. Greer, "Oahu's Ordeal . . ." in *Hawaii Historical Review Selected Readings* (Honolulu: Hawaiian Historical Society, 1969)). Quiet, sober, and practical, he became a favorite family physician (W. T. Pope, *op. cit.*, 59). With a dentist, Dr. J. Mott-Smith, as partner, he opened the Family Drug Store on the mauka-waikiki corner of Hotel and Fort Streets. Later the partners replaced their original building with a two-story frame structure which housed the drug store below and Mott-Smith's offices above (R. J. Baker, *op. cit.*, 33. A different account is given in Gorman D. Gilman, "Streets of Honolulu in the Early Forties," HAA, 1904, 85).

Hillebrand soon took an active role in community affairs, busying himself with a variety of enterprises. At the start of 1856 the *Polynesian* was printing a lengthy "Report on Labor and Population" delivered to the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society by the physician. Among other things Hillebrand urged immediate erection of a hospital with adequate financial backing; he was particularly alarmed by the high incidence of syphilis, and called for compulsory treatment under police rules and cooperation (Jan. 5, 1856).

A few months later Hillebrand and nine other Honolulu doctors petitioned for a charter to form a medical society. It was granted. Hillebrand's associates in this endeavor were Drs. Judd, Lathrop, McKibbin, Rooke, Hoffman, Guillou, Ford, Welch, and Wood (PCR, X, 47; IDLB No. 6).

On October 27 of the same year the doctor sent a letter to the Privy Council in which he proposed to offer medical services to the needy sick (PCR, X, 98). The council resolved to set apart \$500 from the \$5,000 appropriated for a hospital, and to advance \$125 of this sum quarterly for a year; in return, Hillebrand would give full reports of his activities to the government (*Ibid.*, 96, 98).

Meanwhile, in July, he had delivered another long address to the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society (PCA, July 31 and Aug. 7, 1856). This concerned Hillebrand's second major interest, botany and related subjects. Illustrative are reports appearing in 1857. On January 1 we find him writing to the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* regarding China grass, pride of India trees, and other plants. In August he submitted a report on guano brought back from Bird Island by Captain John Paty (Hillebrand to Lot Kamehameha, Aug. 26, 1857, IDM). At the beginning of October he received from San Francisco five California frogs and one lizard—the first of their kind in Hawaii—brought in to destroy insects in his garden (P, Oct. 3, 1857), and simultaneously wrote a letter to the *Pacific Commercial Advertiser* about the coffee blight (Oct. 1, 1857).

The following month, acting in his capacity of corresponding secretary of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society, he reported to that group on plants introduced during the past year. These included New Zealand flax, Moreton Bay chestnuts, banana and plantain varieties, balsam, tropical fruits, vanilla, vegetables, dates, almonds, sesame, grasses, clover, budded peach trees and other trees, grapes, and

rice-seed (P, Nov. 7, 1857). The society had just bought two hives of bees for \$100 each, and they were put under Hillebrand's care at Nuuanu, together with two other hives belonging to a Captain Lawton. (PCA, Nov. 12, 1857).

Having indicated the multiple nature of Hillebrand's career, we will try to trace its various aspects separately:

The doctor's activities included several types of government service. During the great smallpox epidemic of 1853 he was in charge of the Central Vaccine Establishment set up by the government to supervise vaccination in Honolulu (Lot Kamehameha to R. C. Wyllie, Feb. 27, 1854, FO & Ex., "Smallpox Epidemic"). He was, of course, The Queen's Hospital physician from the time of his appointment until he left Hawaii in 1871. He served also for varying periods as a member of the Board of Health, the Bureau of Immigration, and the Privy Council (File, Names of Office Holders, Archives of Hawaii). In September, 1862, he was named one of three commissioners to investigate sanitary conditions of the country and the causes of its depopulation (PCR, X, 93). For a time he was the physician for the insane asylum, and the personal physician of Kamehameha V (*Hawaiian Gazette Directory and Calendar*, 1871; HAA, 1919, 59). Hillebrand also ventured into business; in 1862 he, S. N. Castle, the Haiku Sugar Plantation Co., and others, were granted a 25-year charter of incorporation as The Honolulu Sugar Manufacturing and Refining Company (PCR, XI, 87).

One of Hillebrand's chief claims to remembrance is his work as botanist and naturalist. He was a peerless leader in the task of introducing new plants and animals to Hawaii. For twenty years he was busily engaged in this enterprise. Not only did he lay out extensive gardens around his Nuuanu home; in addition, he planted the grounds of The Queen's Hospital and other public areas (HAA, 1919, 53, 55). From 1851 onward Hillebrand gave part of his time to collecting, classifying, and preserving plants. He roamed all the larger Hawaiian Islands, making many excursions, often in the company of some well-informed Hawaiian guide. Mr. John Lydgate and Dr. Horace Mann shared his explorations, but his eldest son, W. F. Hillebrand, was his most constant companion. In honor of his zeal, a little wooded canyon on the ewa side of Nuuanu Valley was long known as "Hillebrand Glen" (*Ibid.*, 56-57).

The doctor was an affectionate family man and was deeply devoted to his two sons, William Francis and Henry Thomas. Their education was one of his chief concerns. A lover of music, he enjoyed playing the piano, and in 1853 was hailed as the best pianist in Honolulu (*The New Era and Weekly Argus* (Honolulu), Dec. 15, 1853). Hillebrand's favorite recreation, though, was working in his garden (HAA, 1919, 59).

Hillebrand's greatest Hawaiian adventure began on April 26, 1865 when, with his family, he sailed on the British clipper ship *Marmion*, bound for Hong Kong (HG, April 29, 1865). He had been commissioned by the Hawaiian government to visit China, India, and the Malay Archipelago to make arrangements for the importation of plantation laborers, and to gather information as to the possibility of securing an unlimited source of supply of such labor (HAA, 1919, 54). In addition, he was to collect beneficial seeds, plants, and animals, and to make researches into the control of leprosy (*Ibid.*). Although traveling officially as a Commissioner of the Bureau of Immigration, he had been provided with \$500 to spend on botanical and zoological collections through joint subscription of the Planters' Association and the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society (*Ibid.*, 55-56).

The first fruits of this enterprise arrived in Honolulu Sept. 23 from China, via the Chilean bark *Alberto* (PCA, Sept. 30, 1865). On board was a "cargo" of Chinese coolies. Received also were several healthy cinnamon and camphor trees, a large collection of other trees, fruits, and flowers, and a variety of birds. Four pheasants were consigned to Captain Makee at Ulupalakua, Maui (his residence on the slopes of Haleakala, "Rose Ranch", was described by the *Advertiser* on Sept. 19, 1861 and June 25, 1864).

Early in 1866 a number of seeds arrived from Java. These were entrusted successfully to a Charles Derby for planting and care (PCA, Mar. 24, 1866). A letter accompanying the shipment was presented to the Agricultural Society, but because of its technical terms it proved to be a puzzle to all.

By the end of July Hillebrand had sent back 30 cases of specimens—ten from Singapore, nine from Calcutta, eight from Java, two from China, and one from Ceylon (HG, July 28, 1866). Received were camphor, cinnamon, Mandarin oranges, Chinese plums, jack fruits, Java plums, litchi, several species of eugenias and banyans, and other ornamental and flowering trees. Birds included carrion crows of Calcutta, two kinds of goldfinches, Indian sparrows, Japanese finches, Chinese quail, silver pheasants, Mongolian and golden pheasants, linnets, rice birds, and mynahs. There were also a pair of deer each from China and Java. A later report listed, in addition, bamboo fowl, East Indian crows, avivets, Java sparrows, common sparrows, and China turtle doves (HG, May 1, 1867).

The mynahs were considered especially valuable. Nine were liberated in Honolulu and commenced nesting in the vicinity of Little Britain (*Ibid.*). This area was located on the Honolulu plains near the corner of Sheridan and King Streets, across the way from the present Civic Auditorium (R. J. Baker, *Honolulu in 1853*, 65).

After living in Hawaii for more than twenty years, Hillebrand wanted to travel and to do further work and study in preparation for a book on the flora of the Hawaiian Islands. On June 27, 1871, he sailed for San Francisco, en route to Europe (HA, July 5, 1871). During the next fifteen years he lived in parts of Germany and Switzerland, and for some years resided in Madeira and Teneriffe, where he made extensive plant collections (HAA, 1919, 60).

In 1877 Hillebrand, then living in Madeira, made arrangements for the immigration of Portuguese into Hawaii from Madeira and the Azores (*Ibid.*, 54). His former partner, J. Mott-Smith, was at the time President of the Board of Immigration. Negotiations were made through Hackfeld and Company of Honolulu and the firm's house in Bremen, Germany. In October, 1877, the company notified Mott-Smith that the sum of 2,000 marks had been made subject to Hillebrand's draft, and that the firm was ready to complete plans to send a ship to Madeira to carry the immigrants to Hawaii. Hillebrand had been authorized to charter a vessel, and Hackfeld of Honolulu stood ready to approve any engagement he might enter into with the Bremen office (J. Mott-Smith to Hackfeld and Co., Honolulu, Oct. 5, 1877, IDLB No. 14, 389). Negotiations having been completed, the immigrants took up their journey, and the pioneer band of Portuguese reached Honolulu on September 30, 1878 (HAA, 1919, 54).

Hillebrand was seriously ill for over two years before his death, which occurred suddenly on July 13, 1886, following an operation in Heidelberg. He was buried on the outskirts of that city, in ground overlooking the Rhine River (*Ibid.*, 60).

During the last few years of his life, Hillebrand worked hard to finish his *Flora of the Hawaiian Islands*, but death intervened before the final proofs were ready. His son, William Francis, carried the book to completion. For a long time it was the only technical work on Hawaiian plants in general use. Hillebrand was the first to name and describe some 250 plant species in Hawaii; a genus and a number of species received his name (*Ibid.*, 56-57).

After his departure from Hawaii, Hillebrand got frequent remittances of dried plants from John Lydgate of Laupahoehoe, Hawaii, and Valdemar Knudsen of Waiawa, Kauai (W. Hillebrand, *Flora of the Hawaiian Islands* . . . , x). The doctor contributed an "extensive herbarium" to the Royal Museum of Berlin (HAA, 1919, 56). In recognition of Lydgate's aid, Hillebrand made up a type collection and sent it to the former in 1886. About 1917, Lydgate revisited his old home on Hawaii, found the collection, and took it to C. N. Forbes, then botanical curator at the Bishop Museum. Forbes offered \$500 for it, the offer was accepted, and the trustees approved the purchase (J. M. Lydgate, "Scientific Treasure Trove," HAA, 1919, 61-64).

Hillebrand's Berlin collection appears to have been destroyed during World War II (R. J. Baker, *Honolulu in 1870* (Honolulu: R. J. Baker, 1951), 43).

It is widely known that the present Foster Gardens, bounded by Nuuanu, River, School and Vineyard Streets, developed from the home garden of Dr. Hillebrand. Following is a short account of the way in which this property came to be a possession of the City and County of Honolulu:

In 1857 two brothers, Warren and Thomas R. Foster, came to Honolulu and started a shipbuilding business. Their original home was at Fisher's Grant, Picton County, Nova Scotia (HG, Sept. 3, 1889). Thomas married Mary E. Robinson, born in Honolulu Dec. 21, 1844, the daughter of James Robinson, a Honolulu capitalist (HA, Dec. 20, 1930). About 1879 Thomas was active in organizing the Inter-Island Steam Navigation Company, and at length he became the firm's president (HG, Sept. 3, 1889). He died at the age of 54 in San Francisco on August 20, 1889 (F, Oct., 1889, 84), leaving an estate of about a quarter of a million dollars (HG, Sept. 3, 1889).

Thomas Foster had bought the old Hillebrand residence and grounds after the doctor's departure from Hawaii. Mary Foster died at the Old Plantation (the Ward Estate on King Street) on Dec. 19, 1930 (HA, Dec. 20, 1930). She bequeathed the Nuuanu estate to the City and County of Honolulu, with the sum of \$10,000 to put the grounds and residence in order, on the condition that the estate be maintained as a botanical garden. This condition was accepted, and the present Foster Gardens resulted (HAA, 1932, 134).

⁷⁷ Trustees, 10-12.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 30-31. On July 18 the rules were changed to require the physician's attendance three hours daily.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 12-13. The first purveyor was Mr. R. J. Langherne Desha.

⁸⁰ P, July 23, 1859.

⁸¹ Trustees, 13-15.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 36-37.

⁸³ P, July 23, 1859; PCA, Aug. 4, 1859.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ F, Sept. 3, 1859, 65.

⁸⁶ P, Oct. 22, 1859.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ P, Oct. 1, 1859.

⁸⁹ P, Jan. 14, 1860. Members of the visiting committee were S. C. Damon, W. A. Aldrich, and E. O. Hall, appointed July 26, 1859 (Trustees, 36-37).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ P, Mar. 31, 1860.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Trustees, 44-45.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 38-39.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 42-43.

⁹⁶ Minister of the Interior to the Trustees of The Queen's Hospital. MIQH.

⁹⁷ Trustees, 38-39.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 38-39.

- ¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 42-43.
- ¹⁰² *Ibid.*, 44-45.
- ¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 48.
- ¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 22-23. The date was June 7, and the committee members were Kamehameha IV, Bishop, Snow, Webster, and Damon.
- ¹⁰⁵ PCA, Aug. 4, 1859.
- ¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁸ Trustees, 38-39. The new members were Aldrich, Castle, and Bates.
- ¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 40.
- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 44.
- ¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 40.
- ¹¹² *Ibid.*, 42-43.
- ¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 44.
- ¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 45. Caesar K. K. K. Kapaakea was the father of King Kalakaua, Queen Liliuokalani, and Princess Likelike, and the descendant of an ancient line of chiefs (HG, Nov. 17, 1866).
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 46.
- ¹¹⁶ P, Mar. 31, 1860.
- ¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, June 23, 1860 and June 29, 1861.
- ¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, June 23, 1860.
- ¹²¹ PCA, Aug. 4, 1859.
- ¹²² *Ibid.*
- ¹²³ Trustees, 44.
- ¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 48.
- ¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, 50.
- ¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 52.
- ¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 56.
- ¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 58.
- ¹²⁹ P, May 26, 1860.
- ¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, June 23, 1860.
- ¹³¹ PCA, Dec. 6, 1860. Biographical information is in "Remarks by Mr. Robert Lewers at the Meeting of the Employees' Club of Lewers and Cooke, Ltd., Held Dec. 2, 1915," Historical File, Archives of Hawaii; also HA, July 3, 1927, 75th Anniversary Number of Lewers and Cooke.
- ¹³² PCA, Dec. 6, 1860.
- ¹³³ P, June 16, 810.
- ¹³⁴ Trustees, 62.
- ¹³⁵ P, July 7 and 14, 1860.
- ¹³⁶ F, Aug. 1, 1860, 58.

- ¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 57.
- ¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 59.
- ¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 58.
- ¹⁴⁰ PCA, Dec. 6, 1860. The description of the hospital is from this source also.
- ¹⁴¹ In "Heuck, Theodore C., Translations of Letters, 1850-1866," Archives of Hawaii.
- ¹⁴² PCA, Dec. 6, 1860.
- ¹⁴³ C. R. Bishop to Lot Kamehameha, Dec. 20, 1860. MIQH. This is the third semi-annual report of the hospital treasurer.
- ¹⁴⁴ Trustees, 76.
- ¹⁴⁵ PCR, XI, 65-67.
- ¹⁴⁶ C. R. Bishop to Lot Kamehameha, Mar. 1, 1861. MIQH.
- ¹⁴⁷ C. R. Bishop to Lot Kamehameha, April 2, 1861. MIQH. This account covered 95 days' board and attendance in the hospital and 55 prescriptions for outpatients.
- ¹⁴⁸ P, June 29, 1861.
- ¹⁴⁹ *Laws of His Majesty Kamehameha IV . . . Passed by the Nobles and Representatives at Their Session, 1855* (Honolulu: 1855), 12-13.
- ¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 36-38. An earlier Board of Health had been created by Kamehameha III and his Privy Council on Dec. 16, 1850, and ratified by the legislature on May 8 of the following year. It was superseded by the board created in 1855 (*Laws of His Majesty Kamehameha III, King of the Hawaiian Islands, Passed by the Nobles and Representatives at Their Session, 1851*) (Honolulu: 1851), 12-15).
- ¹⁵¹ *Laws of His Majesty Kamehameha IV . . . Passed by the Nobles and Representatives at Their Session, 1860* (Honolulu: 1860), 33-34. The act was approved August 24.
- ¹⁵² *Ibid.*
- ¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 35.
- ¹⁵⁴ Trustees, 70.
- ¹⁵⁵ Trustees, 72. J. W. Austin to D. L. Gregg, Oct. 8, 1860. MIQH.
- ¹⁵⁶ S. Spencer to J. W. Austin, Oct. 22, 1860. IDLB No. 7, 305.
- ¹⁵⁷ Trustees, 73. Committee members were Bates, Hackfeld, Castle, Bishop, and Webster.
- ¹⁵⁸ P, Dec. 29, 1860.
- ¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* Documents reproduced in the newspaper were published by authority of the trustees (Trustees, 74).
- ¹⁶¹ P, July 6, 1861.
- ¹⁶² *Ibid.*
- ¹⁶³ P, Jan. 4, 1862.
- ¹⁶⁴ File, "Hospital Returns". MIQH. The hospital billed the government for the care of prostitutes. Charges incurred from Nov. 14, 1860 to Apr. 30, 1861, amounted to \$301.50—for 670 hospital days at 45 cents a day. The number of patients varied from five to seven during the period (C. R. Bishop to Lot Kamehameha, Mar. 1, Apr. 2, and May 1, 1861. MIQH). As of Dec. 31, 1861, 286 prostitutes remained on the register, 115 having added their names, and 89 having removed them during the preceding quarter. In that same quarter, five prostitutes had been jailed, and seven sent to the hospital (P, Jan. 4, 1862). A total of thirteen prostitutes were received at the hospital by sheriff's order between Nov. 1, 1860 and June 20, 1861 (P, June 29, 1861).

- 165 Trustees, 48.
- 166 *Ibid.*, 50.
- 167 Trustees, 58. Reiners served as Consul of Prussia, Bremen, and Lubeck, Vice-Consul of Russia, and Consular Agent for Spain. He was a general merchant. Reiners left Hawaii in the summer of 1861 (broadside, FO & Ex., 1861).
- 168 Trustees, 62.
- 169 P, June 23, 1860.
- 170 Trustees, 62, 64. The U.S. Commissioner, 1858-1861, was James W. Borden. On Aug. 1 the *Levant* departed for Lahaina (P, Aug. 4, 1860) to investigate conditions there. The vessel then proceeded to Hilo, from whence it sailed in Dec. and disappeared forever (PCA, Jan. 4, 1871).
- 171 Trustees, 64.
- 172 *Ibid.*, 66.
- 173 *Ibid.*, 68.
- 174 *Ibid.*, 74, 80.
- 175 P, June 1, 1861. The question of the care of destitute and invalid seamen in Hawaii was the subject of considerable correspondence between Washington and the U.S. Commissioner. Much of the correspondence, and of course the visits of inspection, arose from alleged abuses in disbursements for seamen's relief (see R. S. Kuykendall, *Hawaiian Diplomatic Correspondence in the Bureau of Indexes and Archives of the Department of State*, Publications of the Historical Commission of the Territory of Hawaii, III, No. 1 (Honolulu: Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Ltd., 1926), 18-24).
- 176 Trustees, 82. Committee members were Castle, Bishop, Hale, Austin, and Aldrich.
- 177 Trustees, 84.
- 178 *Ibid.* Negotiations with Baxley were still going on at the end of March, 1862. On the 29th of that month, S. N. Castle notified the king of the trustees' proposals to the visiting commissioner (S. N. Castle to Kamehameha IV, Mar. 29, 1862, Kalaniana'ole Collection, Archives of Hawaii).
- 179 P, June 29, 1861. Austin justified this by quoting that section of the charter authorizing the hospital to admit "... such foreigners and others as may desire to avail themselves of its benefits." As noted, it was the need for paying patients which prompted the trustees' solicitations.
- 180 *Ibid.*
- 181 Trustees, 54, 56.
- 182 *Ibid.*, 56.
- 183 C. R. Bishop to Lot Kamehameha, June 20, 1861 (treasurer's fourth semiannual report). MIQH.
- 184 Trustees, 54. The date was Mar. 26, 1860.
- 185 *Laws* ... 1860, 26. Approved July 5.
- 186 *Ibid.*, 41. Approved Aug. 25.
- 187 Trustees, 66.
- 188 A satisfactory short account of this organization is in Margaret M. L. Catton, *Social Service in Hawaii* (Palo Alto, California: Pacific Books, 1959), 8-14.
- 189 Trustees, 76.
- 190 P, July 6, 1861.
- 191 Trustees, 88.
- 192 P, Mar. 8, 1862.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, June 29, 1861. Hillebrand's report, as well as those of the secretary and of the treasurer, was presented at the first biennial meeting of the hospital subscribers, which was held at the Court House on June 22.

¹⁰⁴ P, July 6, 1861.

¹⁰⁵ C. R. Bishop to Lot Kamehameha, Dec. 20, 1860 (treasurer's third semiannual report), June 20, 1861 (fourth semiannual report), and Dec. 20, 1861 (fifth semiannual report). MIQH.

¹⁰⁶ P, June 29, 1861.

¹⁰⁷ C. R. Bishop to Lot Kamehameha, Dec. 20, 1861. MIQH.